

[P. 53a] Tubat'mal NS22

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If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

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Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

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The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.¹³⁴

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

¹³⁴ Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

321 Deer bone awls (poa'uk, M.L.; ap'up, M.P.)
412 were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.¹⁹⁴ They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 An assortment of obsidian blades, also
412 made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached
[584] a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a
285 burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young
431 girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these"

[764] (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deer skin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 The two plants used for poisoning fish
278 (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.¹⁹⁵ Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

¹⁹⁴Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukchansi or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (2-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[177] ¹⁹⁵The Miwok used vinegar weed (*Trichostema lanceolatum* Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

[P. 88a]

435 was \$5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled
the quantity of a plain length from wrist
around elbow and back to wrist.²⁰³ A cylindrical
bead called humna was worth twenty-five
cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual
465 like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 chok
payment by spectators. There was no fixed
amount: if a person really could not afford
to give more than a few beads he was not
thought miserly. At times of display or for
payment of individual performers, as at the
death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long
strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth
was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably
others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even
when money was not the medium of exchange,
value for value was the expectancy, not, how-
ever, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of
receiving, but with the courteous, generous
motivation of giving, and maintaining moral
status thereby.²⁰⁴

436 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,²⁰⁷
804 states that the unit of measurement in the
north was the chok; one and a half times the
circumference of the hand. In the south the
chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as
half the hista, twice the circumference of the
hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evalua-
tion, which may have been the rate of his day.²⁰⁸

The usual shell-money is used among them,
and a string of it reaching from the point of
the middle finger to the elbow is valued at
25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white
and polished, about two and a half inches long,
is sometimes strung on the string and rates at
twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

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|---------------|-------------|
| 802 1. yet | 6. tu 'dip1 |
| 2. po 'hoi | 7. no 'mā:n |
| 3. so 'p:n | 8. mo 'hus |
| 4. ha 'po 'hi | 9. no 'n'p |
| 5. yu ts:nuk | 10. t1 'uv |

[172] ²⁰⁹A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a
method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material
from Nevada (vide Cody, *Simply Strung*). This method may ac-
count for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in
the San Joaquin Valley (Weiser and Hesse, *Animal Ceremoni-
alism*, 509).

[431] ²¹⁰Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old
574 Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because
of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; re-
fusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle
offense.

²⁰⁹Handbook, 498.

²¹⁰p. 375.

[P. 104a] Wukchumai

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ta'ati (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni 'udi (another) was added; thus, ni 'udi komo d:s (another father's brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a hit (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no 'i (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta nai' (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tamik were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests remained one or two days. They brought with them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinehala [sic]), and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. 584 431 301 The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (with lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

[P.1066] Wukchurn;

838 gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

764 A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The bereaved persons wept and wailed until interment. [767] Some professional corpse-handlers (tono ūm) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) [482] The corpse of a person who died not more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men.

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term gu'i) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the gu'i to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the gu'i brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

[767] Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tono ūm) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

[431] All persons who came to visit the bereaved at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

[P. 124 a] Wukchumni

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

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Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to \$200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

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769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana n:š and followed an established method. A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected as the recipient; but this tribe was not the tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu'us. (The

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[P. 124b] Wakchumi;

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normal rate of interest was at 50 per cent,
tu (w.s.)

To return to the original contributors of the sum, each one who had put in an amount, say \$10.00, had to agree to provide an equivalent amount of food or gifts (\$10.00 worth) which would be received by the recipients at the end of the ceremony. In other words: in terms of value, no profit was made on either side; in terms of materials, the hosts received money in exchange for commodities. The money was required to pay the washers, singers, winatums, huhuna dancer and accompanying shaman, the participants in the Shamans' Contest, and entertainers on the final day of celebration, and, above all, to pay for the food provided and consumed throughout the week. The recipients who received the commodities could sell them on the spot if the transactions were possible. All informants agreed that a great deal of side trading went on during, and on the final day of, the ceremony. Naturally, the opportunity was unparalleled throughout the year.

At the inception of a mourning ceremony then, a sum of money was made up by the mourners, chiefs, and investors of the host tribe and taken to another tribe by a winatum. Before setting out, the winatum was given a meal and a payment by his chief: in return the winatum made a slight gift to the chief, which might be money, food, or clothing. At the village to which he was sent the winatum was received as usual by the chief and given a meal. An assemblage was called, the purpose of the visit announced, and the money distributed to those tribal members who wished to accept it, knowing the obligation it entailed and the "gifts" they might expect in return. The chief of the recipient tribe was responsible for the personal accounts, as it were, of his fellows. That is, at the ensuing ceremony, the return of the money with its interest and the receiving of gifts from the hosts were carried out between the chiefs (by means of winatums). The individual sums were not collected until the last day of the ceremony (the day of the washing ritual) when they were presented in toto to the host chief, or such was my understanding.

The tribe approached as recipient was not obliged to accept. If it were deemed advisable by the chiefs, subchiefs, and others to decline, this was done, or a compromise might be suggested, i.e., that they take part of the funds and that the remainder be sent to another tribe. Even if accepted the money could yet be returned within six days if on further consultation the recipients felt they could not meet the obligation. If this happened, the sender's winatum was sent to take back the money; the recipient winatum did not take it but took only the message to the sender chief explaining the situation. When, as a result of this, the sender's winatum went after the money, he was paid by both parties for the service.

[P. 125a] Westlaw Mono N525

769 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

431 If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka'suwañ.

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[224] [55a] Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

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[426] This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

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769 The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

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769 The pairs of Wukchumni and Wakaachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.E., and corroboration of some of

[P. 1306] Wukchunwi

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large, deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

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The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soap-root were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs. The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

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During the washing and dressing at least two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

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Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

EP. 193 a] Chuckchausi

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large
feast was supplied by the paternal family. When
the name was announced, everyone present cried;
then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother
had died in childbirth, the grandmother might
name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone
would cry at this. If the person whose name
was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor,
of course, was there weeping.

553 Children were named [by whom?] at about
the age of one year, said J.R. The name en-
dured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another
relative would bestow her own name on the in-
fant. In such circumstances the name was not
tabu after the death of this relative; normally
the name of a dead person was not mentioned.
Also, usually, names were individual, so the
name tabu caused no awkwardness.

551 A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
197 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name
had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this
use of "skunk" possibly white?]

846 Mother's cleansing ceremony.---About one
852 month after the birth of the first child (but
783 not after subsequent births) a celebration was
held for the mother by both parental families,
said N.W. A special three-pole structure had
been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?)
within which the woman's mother-in-law made a
round hole about two feet deep and the same in
diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in
the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood.
Then the young mother was placed on this to
"steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and
made the woman well." Inside with her were her
mother and her sister or, if these were lacking,
an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's
closest female relative. The girl's mother was
continuously cooking acorn meal. The other
woman assisted the young mother. They all re-
mained in there about an hour.

431 Outside the shelter relatives and friends
816 were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
852 which the paternal and maternal families were
783 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
baskets, and other treasures had been assembled
by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with
cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the
husband's mother." Her father called the
husband's parents to come get those things.
After taking off these objects, the husband's
mother replaced them with washing baskets,
blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit).
Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was
852 still within the shelter, picked her up and set
783 her on her feet. A large washing basket
(tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was
brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis
tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid
over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so
she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

[P. 1936] Chuckchawsi

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
 852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
 783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her.
 Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets
 to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid
 and took them home. At the same time the man's
 mother was presented with a large gift basket
 filled with the acorn mush which the wife's
 mother had prepared in the steaming shelter.
 This the man's mother took away to eat with her
 visitors.

[292] After the bath the young mother was
 arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-
 skin apron, and strings of beads around her
 waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she
 had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
 825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
 237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. --
 A.H.G.J. The two women relatives of the girl
 were also dressed in their best. It is not
 stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided
 the girl's attire, though such was normally
 Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the
 baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grand-
 mother received the washing basket. Like his
 mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments.
 He was shown to all the visitors.

431 A further exchange of gifts took place.
 846 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
 852 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
 783 etc., while the young father's family had pro-
 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and ma-
 ternal grandmothers then told each other that
 they had these gifts, and to go get them and
 take them home.¹²¹

Then feasting commenced around the two
 families' fires, which were not far apart. The
 young mother's family entertained all her rela-
 tives and friends who had come to celebrate
 with her, while her husband's family did the
 same for him. The young man's family feasted
 on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family,
 while the girl's family enjoyed the meat pro-
 vided by her husband's father. However, both
 groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita
 cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feast-
 ing.

[178] Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
 e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially,
 the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omit-
 ted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young
 mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get
 skinny now when they don't do that to us," at
 which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.¹²²

¹²¹It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted
 home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed
 that, if the man's parents came from another village, they
 did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in
 such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the vil-
 lage they were visiting.

[262] ¹²²The most tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but
 it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s re-
 mark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from
 carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

[P. 196 b] Chuckchansi

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing
764 further could be done to save him, his attend-
ants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then
when he expired they said, "Now, that's the
last breath. Lay him down." Many people were
around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued
for two days. "A big bunch of people comes,
looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or
four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go
sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this
time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole
tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed,
but wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket and adorned
with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people
who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously
for three days and nights.¹²⁴ Alternate periods
of rest and activity lasted about thirty
minutes. There were four official singers who
[152] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers
[481] moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a
single file with high stamping step around the
corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
[178] established practice [probably about 1860,
after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those
[766] dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
mated, according to Powers.¹²⁵ The old crema-
tion place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek
near the present power house). It was said
the ashes were not buried, "just left there for
the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the
graves have always been made in the present
cemetery. These were never far from the vil-
lage to which the dead had belonged. The grave
was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it
took at least one day to excavate. The cavity
was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from
[431] relatives and friends, usually baskets, were
added, the baskets being placed one over the
head, another over the feet, and little ones
along the body. These were always deliberately
despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were
scattered over all. There was no special song
for burial; the same as that of mourning was
sung while the mourners cried and "danced"
around the grave. The grave was then filled
with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the
dead in old times, according to J.R. Neverthe-
less he continued his discussion with refer-
ences to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

¹²⁴The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to
its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber
(Handbook, 499).

¹²⁵op. 383.

[P. 200 b] Chukchansi

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

[787] Then he told them, talked a little while, not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[184 426] [270] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.¹³³

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.¹³²

¹³³p. 387.

¹³²Ibid., 385.

[P. 221 a] WESLEY, MIND NS25

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inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi'it toho'na min šo'ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

W
Y

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The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages. (ti min šo'nan, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa'omus ipo'kuuk, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiše'yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

W

Y

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The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

W

Y

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825

The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

Y
W
432 and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket,
778 and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw
825 money on the blanket as they filed by. However,
the Bear headman received only the paws or
claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown
away. The hunter himself still retained the
bearskin which he might give, but could not
sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to
anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the
skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear
headman through the redemption process. In
either case the hunter kept the carcass, the
meat of which he was free to eat or give away.
Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they
were never given a ritual redemption as were
young eagles. They could be sold to anyone,
usually westward to plains people. B.O. him-
self once had a little cub which he "took away
off and turned loose when he was big enough to
look after himself."

W
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432 Coyote.---Coyotes were rarely killed. But
778 a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a
825 Coyote lineage, and some money would be given
in return. The skin might be used for a Coyote
clown costume, but was not valued otherwise.
Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular
practice and, possibly because of its rarity as
a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for
the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically at-
tached to the animal killed. Also, for all
totemic animals except the bear cubs, the re-
deemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor
their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

W
Y
842 There were no definite observances or pro-
scriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate
only soft food as a matter of personal prefer-
ence. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as
pounding acorns, during the last months. If
the prospective mother's residence were patri-
local, the mother-in-law might do her work for
her; if she were at home, one of her sisters
might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt
sick did not have to work, relatives of her own
family would help her (D.) But D. added that
there was no rule for this: convenience and
circumstance determined the behavior of all
persons concerned.

W
Y
844 A pregnant woman was referred to as *ša'n*
wip nuš (will be baby [?]), and the act of
giving birth was called *ax: diši*. The woman
remained in her own house where she lay on her
back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two
stakes to which she clung were driven into the
ground on either side. Usually she had one
woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable
female relative of her own or husband's family.
This midwife pressed the parturient around the

[P. 235 a] Western Mono NS25

Marriage

W
Y
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W
Y
[587]
With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on proximity of residence; beyond third it would be "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before re-marrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

W
Y
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At Tusao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

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When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

Y
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W
Y
[597]
The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.¹⁷³

¹⁷³S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already 769
liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble.
Other valuables are burned with the images.

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many 532
remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts 184
tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing
until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of 431
a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief
mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for
the guests, wanders through the village crying.

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many
features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok,
whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There
are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief
is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar
abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term
it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the
Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luisefio, and no doubt most
other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a
counterclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang
valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the
circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the
men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed
property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or
yuyahin, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visit- 783
ors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by wash-
ing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been
steeped.

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite
cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply
dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by
the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact
over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of
each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with
violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a
circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for 302
the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the
Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most
elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and 243
long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among
the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them,
both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her
from her place, and the couple dance before the double row.

CULTURE-ENVIRONMENT INTEGRATION

257

the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.¹³

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reestablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni'ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō'o ka'maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.¹⁴ This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

13 A considerable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnall, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.²² This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to. [622] [431]

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.²³ The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory. [302] [574] [735] [576]

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.²⁴ These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps. [622] [574]

Kanti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancharia. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: wki hatim tupan toine (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

²² See genealogy, Western Mono, Waksachi I, and Yokuts; Entimbiel, Appendix.

²³ *Op. cit.*, 371.

²⁴ Josie Alonzo; see Appendix.

he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further.

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums.

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:²⁶

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to sandangos at Tucuo (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.²⁷ After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

²⁶ From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

²⁷ This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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[431]

182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
 756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder
 or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have
 been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was
 ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demon-
 strations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

182 The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
 626 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
 671 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
 262 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this
 area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of
 definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if
 there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had
 occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for
 acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of
 giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
 received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law
 might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cul-
 tural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but
 were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
 culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and
 especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony,
 were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
 of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class
 system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

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 of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class
 system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

182 The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
 773 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
 829 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life.
 But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created
 the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west
 is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
 possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his
 former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of
 dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the prece-
 dent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

Estudillo Among the Yokuts: 1819

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joaspa promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [coras], flour [pinole], and grain [arroz], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [almudes] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [543]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevada, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmots, Ogmots, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joaspa had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [gallinas] with permission from the Chichas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joaspa, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (1, en ambas vandas), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joaspa, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (componer) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrandos*) that there are in abundance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]^a

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telame had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of the Chischas 8 leagues. In this rancharia [of Telame] I found 14 old women and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [polla] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 Saturday, 30.—At 5 A.M. left for the Rancharia of Tontache with guides which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east, northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M. and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their rancharia in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

361 Sunday, 31.—After having told the romary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache, leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback]. I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

^a It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.